

439 world export of grain; Ukraine played a leading part in the export of wheat, rye and barley (20.21 % and 25 % respectively of the world export).

The bulk of the exports did not go to Russia which drew its supplies from the Volga Basin and the East. Part went to White Ruthenia, Poland and the Baltic, if it was not ear-marked for Central and Western Europe. And Ukrainian cattle were not greatly in demand in the Russian market, which is one reason why cattle-rearing never developed very satisfactorily.

5. The preponderance of foreigners in industry

433 was partly due to Ukrainian concentration in agriculture. It
464 is quite true that, at the outset, Ukraine was not interested in mining and industry. On the other hand the Russians, by Nature less bound to the poorer soil on which they had settled, immigrated to mining and industrial areas of Ukraine. This produced dangerous national islands. The work done by Ukrainian laborers in the Donets area was better than in the Ural, even if it did not reach the standards of Central and Western Europe.

471 In Ukraine industry foreigners predominated even more as investors of capital than as laborers, more capital coming from countries abroad than from Russia. Before World War I about 400 million roubles were invested in Dnipro Ukraine alone, where the value of mining and industrial products amounted to 170 million roubles. 95 % of the capital invested in heavy industry was of foreign origin; 80 % of the pig-iron produced in 1913 came from 10 concerns with French capital (out of a total of 16 in the Russia of those days); they represented an investment of more than 112 million roubles. Of the 103 million roubles of French capital invested in coal mines, 82 millions were accounted for by the Donets Basin. Ten of the 12 concerns run with Belgian capital were in Ukraine.

6. Ukraine's relations to Russia as a colony

439 find expression in the economy of Dnipro Ukraine where certain industries were neglected and deprived of funds in favor of Russian areas. And this is no result of a balance between an agrarian and an industrial country for it was not to the North and the East that agricultural produce was exported

Industry and Mining

1. Fundamental Facts

433 It lay in the nature of her situation as a colony of Russia that only those branches of industry in Ukraine were promoted which utilised raw materials that were locally abundant and difficult to transport over long distances. It was impossible, for instance, to develop a modern textile industry. Even if it cost twice as much to transport cotton from New York to Moscow via Murmansk as via Odessa and Kharkiv and even if the industrial area in Central Russia had to import coal from the Donets Basin, Ukraine was nevertheless dependent on Russia for manufactured goods.

433 Labor was originally more plentiful in Russia than in Ukraine. 311 The population on the upper reaches of the Volga and the 464 Oka was more apt to seek employment in trade and industry, as the soil in those areas yielded poorer harvests and the percentage of forest land was higher. In Ukraine, on the other hand, farmers were loth to leave the good Black Earth. And that is why it was long impossible there to make labor a decisive factor in placing industries. This could be done only much later in the larger towns, and even then it made little difference to the general trend. But it is characteristic for Ukraine that sources of raw material have determined the location of industry, coal-mines and hydro-electric works being geographically fixed and altogether there are more industries, the raw materials of which are more difficult to transport than their products. The proportion of plants whose location is determined by the presence of raw materials is three times higher in Ukraine than in the industrial states of Central and Western Europe.

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ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE UKRAINE

Labour

- 464 is very fluid in Donbass; an annual turnover of 40-50 per cent is estimated.

135 Soviet official information concerning the iron-ore industry of Krivoy Rog is probably more reliable than that concerning 316 Donbass. The reserves of iron ore of high quality (40 per cent iron) are reckoned at 1100 million tons; some Ukrainian economists put these in excess of 3000 million tons. Mining in the Krivoy Rog (south-west of Ekaterinoslav and south-east of Elizavetgrad) began in the nineties and attained considerable proportions by the beginning of the present century. For the years 1913-16 average output was about 5 million tons per annum. According to Soviet statistics, output for 1938 was round 18 million tons.

Conditions for the development of metallurgical industry are extraordinarily favourable in New Russia: on one side of the Dniepr coal, and on the other iron. This is not all: along the banks of the Dniepr itself, round Nikopol and Khvochevatka, to the south of the old ground of the Zaporogian *Sech*, are rich mines of manganese, the quality of which is little inferior to that of the Georgian deposits at Chiaturi. According to the estimates of Ukrainian economists, reserves on the Dniepr amount to about 400 million tons: even if these estimates are exaggerated, there can be no doubt that the deposit is one of the most valuable in the world.

The production of the Dniepr manganese mines has risen from 260,000 tons in 1916 to over 1,000,000 tons in 1938. If the U.S.S.R. is the principal world producer, the Ukraine alone ranks before British India and South Africa (from which two latter countries it is worth recalling that Germany imported 585,000 tons in 1937).

The deposits of coal in Donbass, of iron at Krivoy Rog and of manganese round Nikopol are connected by railway lines which function probably more efficiently than any others in U.S.S.R. The juxtaposition of the mineral deposits and the metallurgical plants ensures full loads both ways. Only 18 per cent of Donets coal is exported outside the Ukraine, and only 5 per cent of the iron ore; the balance is consumed by the South Russian industries. Manganese, on the other hand, is exported abroad in large quantities.

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Important metallurgical plants (70 per cent of the capital of which had been found by French and Belgian houses) existed in the South of Russia prior to the Revolution. In the 'Eastern' (Donets-Azov) group were included the following works: 'The New Russian' (station, Yuzovka, recalling the name of the Welshman Hughes); 'The Russo-Belgian' (Enakievo); 'The Kramatorsky' (Kramatorskaya); 'The Konstantinovskiy' (Konstantinovskaya); 'The Donets-Yuriev' (Alchevskaya); 'The Nikopol-Mariupol'

Emergence of Nationalism

19

with very uncertain success, fluctuating from periods of relatively satisfactory cooperation with the Poles to embittered boycott of an unbearably oppressive regime.²⁶

Some West Ukrainians soon rejected the road of accommodation to the Polish government; in the early twenties they turned to Communism as the champion of both nationalist aspirations and social needs. While the Ukrainians of Galicia were not so badly off economically as were those in the East Ukraine before and after the war of 1914, they suffered from a high ratio of population to available land, from inadequate agricultural productivity, and above all from the fact that the vast majority of bureaucratic and urban jobs which would have served as the natural outlets for their sons, compelled by ambition or lack of employment to leave the land, were absorbed by Poles and Jews. In Volhynia, conditions were much worse; probably they were as bad, as far as purely economic circumstances went, as those within the Soviet Ukraine prior to 1930. Consequently, a broad economic basis for Communist propaganda existed; under the circumstances in which a nationalist Ukrainian Communist regime appeared to be taking form in Kiev, this propaganda appealed strongly to the nationalist element among West Ukrainians as well. As a result, two Communist-front organizations, the Ukrainian Party of Labor (Ukrains'ka Partiia Pratsi) and the Peasants-Workers Association (Selians'ko-Robitnycha Partiia—Sel-Rob) had considerable success, especially in Volhynia. More serious from the strictly nationalist point of view, a large number of the students, the backbone of the new generation which would have to carry on national life, was attracted to the Communist program.²⁷

At the same time, an extreme movement of a different type attracted wide support. The movement which is commonly known in American scholarship as "integral nationalism" arose in Western Europe at the close of the nineteenth century, considerably before Communism became a factor of any real political importance. It is generally recognized that one of the first exponents

²⁶ See Raymond L. Buell, *Poland: Key to Europe* (3rd ed.; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939).

²⁷ See especially Stepan Baran in *Krakiv'ski Visti*, January 18-19, 1942, p. 2.

The
Ukraine]

SHIPPING ; LABOUR

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The Russian Danube Steam Navigation Co. traded from Odessa to Danube river ports. It had a fleet of eleven vessels, with a tonnage of 9,000. 505

The following foreign lines had regular sailings to Odessa: Thos. Wilson, Sons & Co., thrice weekly, from Hull; J. R. Ellerman, Ltd., fortnightly, from Liverpool; James Moss & Co., every four weeks, from Liverpool; the Messageries Maritimes, fortnightly, from Marseilles; and the Deutsche Levante Linie, monthly, from Genoa.

Tramp steamers of many nationalities are attracted in great numbers to Ukraine ports in the autumn for the shipment of the cereal crop, and there is seldom any lack of cargo space.

The foreign lines with regular services appear capable of meeting the normal demand on their cargo space. The Russian lines require Government support, as shipping under the Russian flag is not as a rule commercially successful.

(c) *Telegraphic Communication*

Telegraphic communication with foreign countries is dependent mainly on cable lines not situated in the Ukraine, which has only one cable, from Odessa to Constantinople, the joint property of the Indo-European Telegraph Co. and the Eastern Telegraph Co. Telegrams for the East are sent *via* the Kertch station of the Indo-European Telegraph Co.; those for northern Europe or America, *via* Petrograd and thence by various cable lines. 206

(B) INDUSTRY

(1). LABOUR

(a) *Supply of Labour ; Emigration and Immigration* 464 ●

The line of cleavage between agricultural and other labour is not so sharp in the Ukraine as in most other communities. The claims of agriculture are the greater by far, but the increase in the number of landless peasants who find it difficult to live in the country 166

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[166] districts through the long winter has led to the creation of a large class who migrate according to the season, working for wages on the land in summer and moving to the towns in search of work in winter. A slight permanent movement to the towns is in progress, but the rate is not rapid. As the Little Russians are not naturally energetic or industrious, the supply of labour for industries other than agriculture is not equal to the demand, and immigration from other parts of Russia is continuous. The heavier classes of work in the industries of the Donets and Krivoy-Rog regions are seldom undertaken by the natives of the country. The underground labour of the mines and the foundry work is done mainly by Great Russians, who come from the Governments of Smolensk, Orel, Kursk, Mohilev, and Simbirsk. The port labour at Odessa and Nikolaev has attracted a population of mixed nationality with a low standard of living, who exist between seasons in a state of semi-starvation.

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221 In the agricultural world labour is fairly plentiful, but the neglect to cultivate such lands as are not suitable for cereals has led to a summer immigration of Bulgarians, who raise fine crops of vegetables and ground fruits on low-lying land, supplying not only the neighbourhood but far distant towns. These immigrants return home in winter.

167 There is no great permanent emigration from the Ukraine except among the population in the region of the upper Dnieper, a fair number of whom leave for the Polish industrial districts owing to bad conditions at home.

(b) *Labour Conditions*

466 Labour conditions cannot be called good in any
511 branch of industry. The State makes no effort to
565 regularize the supply and very little to better the conditions of labour. The landless agricultural proletariat, which is increasing steadily, lives in a hand-to-mouth fashion, and its position is gradually growing worse. Lacking energy and ability, individuals of

this class are often compelled to accept badly-paid⁴⁶⁶ work in the towns, and both men and women have⁵¹¹ often to make long and laborious journeys on foot in⁵⁶⁵ search of employment.

A large class engaged in domestic industries, whether as masters or as servants, make a very poor living, frequently working very long hours under bad sanitary conditions.

In the coal and iron industries there are some concerns,⁴⁶⁶ particularly those capitalized from abroad, which look well after their work-people, provide housing, secure good supplies of provisions at moderate prices, and take other measures to ameliorate labour conditions. In consequence, however, of works and mines being often situated on land rented on short-term leases, many employers cannot afford to lay out money on such objects, and conditions for labour are generally bad. So difficult is it to attract labour, that mine-owners have sometimes sought to secure convict labour from the Government.

The peculiar characteristic of labour in the Ukraine¹⁶⁶ is its mobility, which often occasions unexpected⁴⁶⁴ crises. Superstition, epidemics of disease, and more obscure causes lead to vast movements of labourers from a district at very short notice.

The *artels*, which are labour organizations peculiar to⁴⁶⁷ Russia, have an important influence on the supply and quality of certain labour. An *artel* is an association of workers, the general principles of which are: (1) all members must be actual workers; (2) all have equal rights in the organization; and (3) every member is responsible for the obligations contracted by the *artel*. The organization is usually non-capitalistic or has a very small capital.

In general there are two classes of *artels*, those of workers in producing trades and those of workers who provide service. The former are engaged in carpentering, cabinet-making, printing, linen-weaving, dairy-work, fishing, &c. The second group comprises stevedores, packers, customs agents, bank porters, com-

11: Obermaier--170 J-3(no date)1942 RD1UkraineRD1

464 The tremendous increase in pop'l-a -

361 tion which the Ukraine showed after the liberation of peasants in 1861 found employment in the growing industry and in railroad construction, insofar as the surplus population did not prefer emigration to Siberia and eastern Asia. When there was less work on the farms, the farmers and farmers' sons traveled into the industrial regions, only to return to their villages at planting and harvest time. Thus a stock of Ukrainian industrial workers could not be formed; foreign Russian manpower immigrated and remained for good. In 1918 and 1919, when the Muscovite Bolsheviks broke into the Ukraine and the Russian industrial workers reinforced their ranks, the absence of a Ukrainian industrial working class was to make itself disastrously felt.

316 The world thinks of the Ukraine more as a granary than as a source of valuable raw materials. And yet, there are considerable treasures buried in Ukrainian soil. The reserve of iron ore in the Ukraine is the third largest in the world. At Krivoy Rog, 250 kilometers northeast of Odessa, according to the latest calculations there are deposited 1.25 billion tons of high percentage Bessemer ores (60 to 61% iron content) and also considerable quantities of ferruginous quartz. In Kerch on the easternmost spur of the Crimean Peninsula there are 2.7 billion tons of phosphorous ores with an iron content of 38 to 42%, and in the northern Caucasus there are smaller deposits. The following table shows the importance of Ukrainian ore extraction for the Great Russian realm: /Facing page 160/ /Map XI: Iron Ore and Steel Export from the Soviet Ukraine (Average 1927/1928). The Ukraine was the great source of steel for the industrial works around Moscow and Leningrad./ /161/

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Iron Ore Extraction
in million tons

	1913	1932	1935
Krivoy Rog.....	6388	7925	16,594

433 the Soviet Union was to be increased according to the most modern methods. The industrialization of the agrarian country was based on existing industrial plants which were enlarged, on the opening-up of new sources of power and the establishment of large industrial combines. Foreign enterprises and above all foreign specialists assisted in a decisive way in the carrying-out of the first Five Year Plan. But the first and still fresh impulse of industrial development was broken even in 1932 at the beginning of the second Five Year Plan; the increased production figures for iron and coal to the contrary notwithstanding. Meanwhile, systems of stimulating production were introduced, such as the Udarniki Movement in 1933 (shocktroop workers) and the Stakhanov Movement of 1936, whereby production was actually increased. During the second Five Year Plan the number of industrial workers in Soviet Ukraine increased essentially more slowly than during the first.

• [44] In 1929 there were somewhat over 600,000 "independent workers" in the entire Soviet Ukraine, more than half of whom were coal and metal workers. In 1931 their number had increased to 900,000, in 1933 to over 1 million, and in 1935, to barely 1.2 million workers - female workers not included. (105)

105. Kubyovych: Atlas of the Ukraine and the Area Bordering it, page 46.

By far the greater number of industries of the present Soviet Ukrainian economy still stem from the pre-war period, as for example almost all factories for agricultural machines. The only revolutionary step in this branch of economy is the merging of individual enterprises and the changing of names. The firm "Heim, Odessa" became the Bolshevik factory "October Revolution", "Fuchs, Kleiner, Berger and Zagorelin, Katerynoslav"

505 as the Dnester, Bug and Donets, because it is not regulated. The Donets has too little water to assume the importance it could have as the only river in the industrial area.

504 Odessa is the most important seaport of the Ukraine, and next in importance comes Novorossiysk on the Caucasian coast. Both of them turn over more than two million tons of goods annually. Next come Mykolayov at the mouth of the Bug and Maryupil on the Sea of Azov, with a turn-over of more than a million tons annually, as well as Kherson at the mouth of the Dneper and Theodosia in the Crimea with more than half a million tons each.(124)

124. Kubiyovich: Atlas, page 48.

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000 When workers are satisfied with their jobs and the general living conditions of their dwellings, they do not like to change. Constant change of a crew of workers of an enterprise is a definite sign that something is wrong, that the workers are not satisfied. For the employers it is no pleasure constantly to be obliged to train new people and test their reliability. In the Ukraine workmen very often leave factories and pits in order to find employment in other enterprises. The official organ of heavy industry 'Za Industriyalizatsiiu' writes about this on December 15, 1936: "The fluctuation of workmen in the Donets Basin is enormous. It even exceeds that of former years. In eleven months of 1936, 231,000 new workmen moved to the coal pits, while 233,000 moved away; again in 1935, 210,000 came, 219,000 left. The crew changes all the time... People also leave the mines because of low wages. /175/ In pit number 12 many of the workers hired, earned only 100 to 200 rubels a month. Disorganization

• 464 cuts wages." A few days later 'Za Industriyal-
izatsiiu' deals with the same subject: "The
fluctuation of workers in the Molotov automobile
factory is great, especially among those who have
been newly employed. In the course of eleven
months in 1936 over 12,000 workers have moved
away. The shortage of housing is often given as
the chief reason for the mass flight. Inasmuch
as the machines are idle, the wages of the workers
are greatly reduced... The workers wait for the
machines eight to ten days a month. The manage-
ment succeeds in providing normal or semi-normal
working conditions for only a few of the workers -
for the famous Stakhanov-workers." (125) Very

125. Quoted by Keyserlingk, The Russian
worker lives in this way, page 22.

similar are the conditions in the new combine
"Zaporishstali" where in 1935, 9151 workers were
taken on and 7675 released; this is reported by
Visti on May 22, 1939. The same paper reports
on May 17, 1939 that 331 young farmers from the
region of Chernigov were sent into the coal mines
of the Donets Basin.

433 At the beginning of the second Five Year
464 Plan, Bolshevik employers with the help of the
erstwhile farmer Isotov refuted those false
prophets who, like Marx and Lenin, maintained that
people would lead a secure, carefree and enjoyable
life in the socialist state with little work and
high wages. After special preparations the miner
Isotov turned out 40 to 60 percent more than he had
previously averaged. Isotov's first effort was
particularly celebrated and propagandized. It
served as a pretext for the introduction of the
Udamnik or shock-worker movement. Two years later,
when this impulse had abated just as had the
previous enthusiasm of the first Five Year Plan,
the big, powerful peasant boy Alexei Stakhanov fell

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231 During all this time the livestock of the Ukraine (see next
262 Section), was being slowly and laboriously built up by gifts from the
731 rest of the Union, by levies on Germany, and by natural increase.
Meat was very scarce, since no-one was willing to slaughter and further
deplete the slender herds. Cows, used for draught purposes, gave
little milk. Now added to these intense shortages of meat, fat and
dairy products was another great deficiency of cereals and bread,
hitherto the mainstay of the Ukrainian post-war diet.

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433 The 1946 harvest cannot, at the most optimistic estimate, be
231 reckoned at more than 40 per cent. of 1940 in cereals and vegetables
per hectare sown. There is no fodder for the jealously guarded
animals; shelter for them is also very scarce since the people them-
selves are only now moving out of dugouts. If the animals are
slaughtered, the small supplies of dairy products and meat will soon
disappear; and the problem of draught power will remain as acute as
ever.

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241 There is an agricultural dilemma in the Ukraine which a good
433 harvest would have gone far to break. Although extensive and con-
231 tinued demobilisations have been taking place, there is a great shortage
of labour on the farms.² If manpower is taken from the farms to help
produce the machinery necessary to liberate further men from the land,
there may not be enough farm workers left to produce sufficient food
for the factory workers. The poor harvest has aggravated this vicious
circle.

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[462] The Soviet Government has attempted in various ways to meet this
problem not only in the Ukraine, but throughout the Union. Everyone
who is able to work does so; young people, old people, women. The
women who worked during the war have remained part of the labour force
in both industry and agriculture, and an increasing number are being
recruited. In the Ukraine in 1946, women composed at least 60 - 70 per
cent. of the farm working force.

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[464] At the same time as steps are being taken to concentrate more
474 workers in agriculture, the organization of the collective farms is
447 being overhauled and geared to higher efficiency. To accomplish this,
the Soviet Council of Ministers created on September 19, 1946, a
Collective Farm Council, whose main tasks will be to elaborate measures
for the improvement of collective farming. This Council which is
authorized to call conferences of collective farm representatives when
necessary, was set up for the purpose of "establishing strict control
over the observation of collective farm statutes and for the solution
of questions of the collective farm structure." One of their primary

1 One must also bear in mind the reduced area under cultivation.

2 The war losses are felt very acutely.

Coal

316 The coal centre of the Ukraine is the basin of the Donets River,
433 a tributary of the Don. In 1913 the Donets region was producing 80 per cent. of all the coal turned out in the entire Russian Empire. {23 million tons of the 29.2 million total}; and even in 1940, when the production of other coal areas in the U.S.S.R. had been greatly expanded, and many new areas explored and put into operation, Donets mines still accounted for more than half the total output (83.8 million tons of the entire Soviet Union production of 164.6 million).

Since about 70 per cent. of all the fuel consumed in the U.S.S.R. is supplied by coal,¹ the rehabilitation of the Ukrainian coal industry is of tremendous importance to the economy of the Soviet Union.

727 It is now over three years since the Soviet Army drove the Germans
316 out of the Donets Basin. Before their rout, the enemy flooded the mines and burned engineering plants, miners' settlements, and cities. Restoration work was started soon after the liberation of the Basin, but it was estimated that to restore coal output to the pre-war level it would be necessary to pump 650 million cubic metres of water out of the mines and to restore 1,565 miles of mine galleries.² Today, the towns of the Donets Basin are a mass of scaffolding, as war-devastated houses, buildings, and roads continue to be repaired. Mine derricks dot the landscape; and water is being pumped in a steady stream from the mine pits. At the Chelyuskin Mine which before the war was one of the biggest and best equipped in the Donets, over nine million cubic metres of water had been pumped by the middle of December 1946; and about 20 miles of galleries had been restored. Coal output averaged a thousand tons a day.

By January 1947 about 142 major coal mines of the 279 operating prior to the war had been restored, and 430 smaller ones, rehabilitated or built anew, were in operation. Production was nearly half of pre-war.³

[362] As regards housing for Donets workers, it is planned within the next five years not only to restore the houses demolished by the Germans, but also to build another 20 million square feet of housing space in the Donets Basin; in 1946 alone over four million square feet of floor space had been reconstructed. Thousands of miners are being helped to build their own homes; and measures are being taken to increase their food supplies.

1 Moscow Radio feature, "Sidelights on Soviet Life," cited in Soviet Monitor, London, January 29, 1947.

2 Soviet Monitor, London, September 12, 1946

3 Soviet Monitor, London, January 23, 1947

24: Cech and Mellon S-2 (no date) 1944 Ukrainians
Ruthenians



Shepherds blow huge horns to round up their sheep by night

511 In the narrow valleys and on their slopes are cottages and straggling
464 villages where the Ruthenian uplanders live. Nearly all the huts are
241 made of wood and are flanked by gardens with patches of sunflowers.
311 In the higher altitudes the land consists mainly of meadows, and such
meagre fields as there are yield scanty crops of oats, potatoes or hemp—
not sufficient to live on. No wonder that during the summer months it
is chiefly women and children who can be found at home; the menfolk
either fell trees in the forest or earn their living as seasonal labourers
in the towns and villages of the more prosperous South.

101 These lonely mountains and forests breed a people with a distinct
162 character of their own. Living as they do in seclusion, they not only
differ from their Slovak neighbours but show distinct regional differences

24: Cech and Mellon S-2 (no date) 1944 Ukrainians-
Ruthenians

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

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531 Mountainous Ruthenia is a country of traditional costumes. The beautiful embroideries which decorate them and their colour-effects testify to the innate artistic sense of the people. Their patterns and hues vary not only from tribe to tribe but also from village to village. Blue, brown and red are their favourite colours, but one may say that practically all the colours are represented. On weekdays their attire is rather simple. But on Sundays and festivals the space in front of the wooden church is a veritable kaleidoscope of well-blended hues. Particularly striking is the garb of the Huculs whose artistic talent also shows in their elaborate wood-carvings and in their love of music.

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574 Life is hard in the mountains and forests of Carpathian Ruthenia. Yet the small farmers, wood-cutters, labourers and shepherds who live there are a friendly and hospitable race. The traditional rule that a stranger who comes into a Ruthenian cottage is to be hospitably received has found a remarkable illustration in recent times. The inhabitants of one village in the South have decided that the passengers on the bus which passes through the village once a day have to be treated as guests. And so whenever the bus arrives a peasant woman with a basket full of fruit or cheese or buns is waiting at the stop to share out her eatables among the travellers.

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241 In the southern part of the country life and people are different. Here one comes across fields of maize, wheat and tobacco, while on the sunny hills bordering on the fertile plain further south there are rich vineyards. But most of this good soil is not the property of the Ruthenians; they have been pushed into the mountains by the Hungarians who owe much of the land and employ the native Ruthenians as seasonal labourers. In this part of the country the population is mixed, and the Ruthenians who live here have surrendered much of their racial individuality as well as the traditional costumes. No wonder that those uplanders who moved south for economic reasons long to return to their poor but proud mountains.

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438 Carpathian Ruthenia is a rural country. Even its largest towns, such as Mukačevo with a State tobacco factory and other works, Berehovo, the centre of the Ruthenian wine trade, Sevljuš with excellent vineyards, are essentially provincial in character.

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341 The largest town, Užhorod, has assumed the character of a modern city since it became the capital of Carpathian Ruthenia during the twenty years of the Czechoslovak Republic. The government built here imposing public buildings as well as large blocks of up-to-date residential flats for its civil servants. Prominent among these representative buildings is Zemský Úrad housing the headquarters of the administration of Carpathian Ruthenia; its façade is strictly modern and its interior, particularly the Parliament Chamber and the large Reception Hall, is beautifully equipped.

This part of Užhorod is well laid out; right along the river bank